

THE  
WORKS  
OF  
HORATIO WALPOLE,  
EARL OF ORFORD.

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VOL. III.

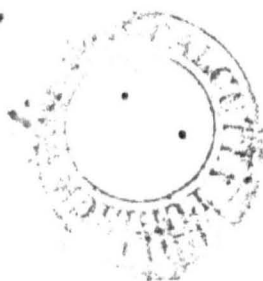




**QUEEN ELEANOR.**

**HENRY III.<sup>d</sup>**

*Taken from an ancient Window in the Church of Beaulieu, in 1730.*

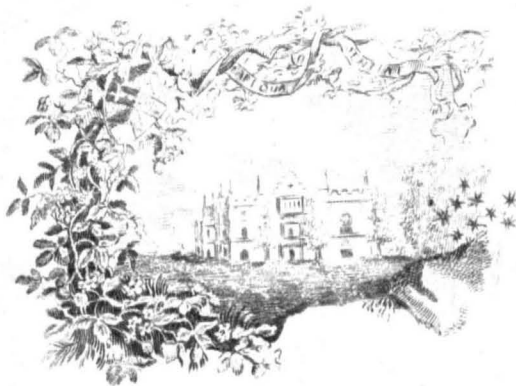


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THE  
WORKS  
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IN FIVE VOLUMES.

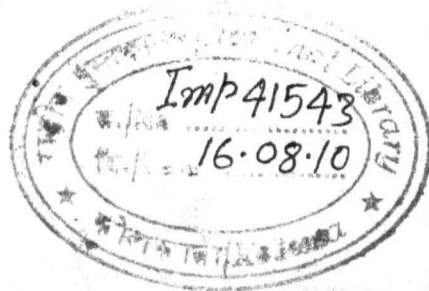
VOL. III.



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MDCXCXVIII.





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OF THE

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To the Right Honourable

M A R Y L E P E L,

Baroness Dowager HERVEY of ICKWORTH.

MADAM,

I SHALL only say in excuse for offering this work to your ladyship, that if I could write any thing really deserving your acceptance, I should not prefix your name to such trifles as the following sheets. But my gratitude for the goodness and unmerited distinction which your ladyship has so long shown me, is impatient to express itself; and though in the present case I am rather an editor than an author, yet having little purpose of appearing again in the latter character, I am forced to pay my debts to your ladyship with Mr. Vertue's coin. If his industry has amassed any thing that can amuse one or two of your idle hours, when neither affection, friendship, nor the several duties which you fill with so much ease and dignity, have any demands upon you, I shall think his life was well employed; I am sure my time will have been so, if I have made him tolerable company to my lady Hervey, who has conversed familiarly with the most agreeable persons, dead and living, of the most polished ages and most polished nations.

I am, MADAM,

Your ladyship's

Most obedient servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

## P R E F A C E

WHEN one offers to the public the labours of another person, it is allowable and preceded to expatiate in praise of the work. Of this indulgence, however, I shall not make advantage. The industry of Mr. Vertue was sufficiently known; the antiquarian world had singular obligations to him. The many valuable monuments relating to our history, and to the persons of our monarchs and great men, which he saved from oblivion, are lasting evidences of his merit. What thanks are due to him for the materials of the following sheets, the public must determine. So far from endeavouring to prepossess them in favour of the work, it shall be my part fairly to tell them what they must expect.

In Italy, where the art of painting has been carried to an amazing degree of perfection, the lives of the painters have been written in numberless volumes, alone sufficient to compose a little library. Every picture of every considerable master is minutely described. Those biographers treat of the works of Raphael and Correggio with as much importance as commentators speak of Horace or Virgil; and indulging themselves in the inflated style of their language, they talk of pictures as works almost of a divinity, while at the same time they lament them as perishing before their eyes. France, neither possessed of such masters, nor so hyperbolic in their diction, contrives however to supply by vanity what is wanting in either. Poussin is their miracle of genius; Le Brun would dispute precedence with half the Roman school. A whole volume is written even on the life and works of Mignard. Voltaire, who understands almost every thing, and who does not suspect that judgment in painting is one of his deficiencies, speaks ridiculously in commendation of some of their performers.

This country, which does not always err in vaunting its own productions, has not a single volume to show on the works of its painters. In truth, it has

very rarely given birth to a genius in that profession. Flanders and Holland have sent us the greatest men that we can boast. This very circumstance may with reason prejudice the reader against a work, the chief business of which must be to celebrate the arts of a country which has produced so few good artists. This objection is so striking, that instead of calling it *The Lives of English Painters*, I have simply given it the title of *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. As far as it answers that term, perhaps it will be found curious. The indefatigable pains of Mr. Vertue left nothing unexplored that could illuminate his subject, and collaterally led him to many particularities that are at least amusing: I call them no more; nor would I advise any man, who is not fond of curious trifles, to take the pains of turning over these leaves. From the antiquary I expect greater thanks; he is more cheaply pleased than a common reader: the one demands to be diverted, at least instructed—the other requires only to be informed.

Mr. Vertue had for several years been collecting materials for this work: he conversed and corresponded with most of the virtuosi in England; he was personally acquainted with the oldest performers in the science; he minuted down every thing he heard from them. He visited every collection, made catalogues of them, attended sales, copied every paper he could find relative to the art, searched offices, registers of parishes and registers of wills for births and deaths, turned over all our own authors, and translated those of other countries which related to his subject. He wrote down every thing he heard, saw, or read. His collections amounted to near forty volumes large and small: in one of his pocket-books I found a note of his first intention of compiling such a work; it was in 1713; he continued it assiduously to his death in 1757. These MSS. I bought of his widow after his decease; and it will perhaps surprise the reader to find how near a complete work is offered to him, though the research was commenced at so late a period: I call it commenced; what little had been done before on this subject, was so far from assistance, it was scarce of use. The sketch called *An Essay towards an English School*, at the end of the translation of Depiles, is as superficial as possible; nor could a fact scarce be borrowed from it till we come to very modern times. In general I have been scrupulous in acknowledging both Mr. Vertue's debts and my own. The catalogues of the works of Hollar and Simon, and those of the collection of king Charles I. king James II. and the duke of Buckingham, were part of Mr. Vertue's original plan, which is now completed by these volumes.



The compiler had made several draughts of a beginning, and several lives he had written out, but with no order, no connection, no accuracy; nor was his style clear or correct enough to be offered to the reader in that unpolished form. I have been obliged to compose a-new every article, and have recurred to the original fountains from whence he drew his information; I mean, where it was taken from books. The indigested method of his collections, registered occasionally as he learned every circumstance, was an additional trouble, as I was forced to turn over every volume many and many times, as they lay in confusion, to collect the articles I wanted; and for the second and third parts, containing between three and four hundred names, I was reduced to compose an index myself to the forty volumes. One satisfaction the reader will have, in the integrity of Mr. Vertue, it exceeded his industry; which is saying much. No man living, so bigoted to a vocation, was ever so incapable of falsehood. He did not deal even in hypothesis, scarce in conjecture. He visited and revisited every picture, every monument, that was an object of his researches; and being so little a slave to his own imagination, he was cautious of trusting to that of others. In his memorandums he always put a quare against whatever was told him of suspicious aspect; and never gave credit to it till he received the fullest satisfaction. Thus, whatever trifles the reader finds, he will have the comfort of knowing that the greatest part at least are of most genuine authority. Whenever I have added to the compiler's stores, I have generally taken care to quote as religiously the source of my intelligence. Here and there I have tried to enliven the dryness of the subject by inserting facts not totally foreign to it. Yet upon the whole I despair of its affording much entertainment. The public have a title to whatever was designed for them: I offer this to them as a debt—nobody will suspect that I should have chosen such a subject for fame.

If the observation of a dearth of great names in this list should excite emulation, and tend to produce abler masters, Mr. Vertue, I believe, and I should be glad to have the continuation of the work do greater honour to our country. It would be difficult perhaps to assign a physical reason, why a nation that produced Shakespeare, should owe its glory in another walk of genius to Holbein and Vandyck. It cannot be imputed to want of protection: Who countenanced the arts more than Charles the First? That prince, who is censured for his want of taste in pensioning Quarles, is celebrated by the same pen for employing Bernini. But want of protection is the apology for want of genius:  
Milton.

Milton and Fontaine did not write in the bask of court-favour. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection: they can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils. Mr. Hogarth has received no honours, but universal admiration.

But whatever has been the complaint formerly, we have ground to hope that a new æra is receiving its date. Genius is countenanced, and emulation will follow. Nor is it a bad indication of the flourishing state of a country, that it daily makes improvements in arts and sciences. They may be attended by luxury, but they certainly are produced by wealth and happiness. The conveniences, the decorations of life are not studied in Siberia, or under a Nero. If severe morality would at any time expect to establish a thorough reformation, I fear it must choose inhospitable climates, and abolish all latitude from the laws. A corporation of merchants would never have kept their oaths to Lycurgus of observing his statutes till he returned. A good government, that indulges its subjects in the exercise of their own thoughts, will see a thousand inventions springing up, refinements will follow, and much pleasure and satisfaction will be produced, at least before that excess arrives which is so justly said to be the forerunner of ruin. But all this is in the common course of things, which tend to perfection, and then degenerate. He would be a very absurd legislator, who should pretend to set bounds to his country's welfare, lest it should perish by knowing no bounds. Poverty will stint itself; riches must be left to their own discretion; they depend upon trade, and to circumscribe trade is to annihilate it. It is not rigid nor Roman to say it, but a people had better be unhappy by their own fault, than by that of their government. A *Censor morum* is not a much greater blessing than an *Arbiter elegantiarum*. The world, I believe, is not at all agreed that the austerities of the Presbyterians were preferable to the licentiousness under Charles II. I pretend to defend the one no more than the other; but I am sure that, in the body politic, symptoms that prognosticate ill, may indicate well. All I meant to say was, that the disposition to improvements in this country is the consequence of its vigour. The establishment of a society for the encouragement of arts will produce great benefits before they are perverted to mischiefs. The bounties bestowed by that society, for facilitating the necessities of life to the poor, for encouraging the use of our own drugs and materials, or for naturalizing those of other countries, are bestowed on noble principles and with patriot views. That society does not neglect even the elegancies of life. Arts



that are innocent in themselves, and beneficial to the country, either by adding value to our productions, or by drawing riches as they invite strangers to visit us, are worthy the attention of good citizens; and in all those lights that society acts upon a national and extensive plan.

The art, that is chiefly the subject of these pages, is one of the least likely to be perverted: Painting has seldom been employed to any bad purpose. Pictures are but the scenery of devotion. I question if Raphael himself could ever have made one convert, though he had exhausted all the expression of his eloquent pencil on a series of popish doctrines and miracles. Pictures cannot adapt themselves to the meanest capacities, as unhappily the tongue can. Nonsense may make an apprentice a catholic or a methodist; but the apprentice would see that a very bad picture of St. Francis was not like truth; and a very good picture would be above his feeling. Pictures may serve as helps to religion; but are only an appendix to idolatry; for the people must be taught to believe in false gods and in the power of saints, before they will learn to worship their images. I do not doubt but if some of the first reformers had been at liberty to say exactly what they thought, and no more than they thought, they would have permitted one of the most ingenious arts implanted in the heart of man by the Supreme Being to be employed towards his praise. But Calvin by his tenure, as head of a sect, was obliged to go all lengths. The vulgar will not lift but for total contradictions: they are not struck by seeing religion shaded only a little darker or a little lighter. It was at Constantinople alone where the very shopkeepers had subtlety enough to fight for a letter more or less in a Greek adjective \* that expressed an abstract idea. Happily at this time there is so total an extinction of all party-animosity both in religion and politics, that men are at liberty to propose whatever may be useful to their country, without its being imputed to them as a crime, and to invent what they mean should give pleasure without danger of displeasing by the very attempt.

At this epoch of common sense, one may reasonably expect to see the arts flourish to as proud a height as they attained at Athens, Rome, or Florence. Painting has hitherto made but faint efforts in England. Our eloquence and

\* In the decline of the empire there were two nature of the second person was ὁμοίσις, co-  
sects who proceeded to the greatest violences essentialis; or ὁμοεισις, similis essentialis.  
against each other, in the dispute whether the

the glory of our arms have been carried to the highest pitch. The more peaceful arts have in other countries generally attended national glory. If there are any talents among us, this seems the crisis for their appearance: the Throne itself is now the altar of the graces; and whoever sacrifices to them becomingly, is sure that his offerings will be smiled upon by a prince, who is at once the example and patron of accomplishments. The institution of a school of statuary in the house of a young \* nobleman of the first rank rivals the boasted munificence of foreign princes. When we abound with heroes, orators and patrons, it will be hard if their images are not transmitted to posterity under graceful representations.

This is by no means said to depreciate the artists we have, but to inspire with emulation those arising. Ryssbrack, Roubiliac, Scheemaker, Wilton, would do honour to any country: but hitherto their skill has been in a manner confined to private monuments. When we have subjects for history, the people should read on public edifices the actions of their ancestors and fellow-citizens in bas-reliefs: busts and statues should reward the gallant behaviour of the brave, and exhibit themselves as models. What made Rome more venerable than every street being an illustration of Livy? Painting has been circumscribed within as selfish bounds as statuary; historic compositions totally neglected. Reynolds and Ramsay have wanted subjects, not genius. There is another artist, who seems born for an age of naval glory, and is equal to it, Mr. Scott. Architecture, the most suitable field in which the genius of a people arrived at superiority may range, seems reviving. The taste and skill of Mr. Adam is formed for public works. Mr. Chambers's treatise † is the most sensible book, and the most exempt from prejudices, that ever was written on that science. But of all the works that distinguish this age, none perhaps excel those beautiful editions of Balbec and Palmyra—not published at the command of a Louis quatorze, or at the expence of a cardinal nephew, but undertaken by private curiosity and good sense, and trusted to the taste of a polished nation. When I endeavour to do justice to the editions of Palmyra and Balbec, I would not confine the encomium to the sculptures; the books have far higher merit. The modest descriptions ‡ prefixed are standards of writing: the exact measure of what should and should not be said, and of

\* The duke of Richmond.

† By Mr. Wood.

‡ On civil architecture, folio, 1759.

what was necessary to be known, was never comprehended in more clear diction, or more elegant style. The pomp of the buildings has not a nobler air than the simplicity of the narration—but I must restrain myself; though it is pleasing to expatiate on the just praise of one's country; and they who cannot perform great things themselves, may yet have a satisfaction in doing justice to those who can. If Juvenal was honest in his satires, he would have been happy if he could have lived to write the panegyric of Trajan.

1762.



A N E C D O T E S  
O F  
P A I N T I N G, &c.

C H A P. I.

*The earliest Accounts of Painting in England.*

THEY who undertake to write the history of any art, are fond of carrying its origin as far back as possible. When this tends to show the improvements made in it, by comparing latter works with the first rude inventions, it may be of service ; but it often happens that the historian thinks the antiquity of a discovery reflects honour on his country, though perhaps his country has been so careless, or has wanted genius so much, as to have refined very little on the original hints. Some men push this farther, and venerate the first dawnings of an art more than its productions in a riper age. The inventor may have had more genius, but the performances of the improver must be more perfect. Mr. Vertue had taken great pains to prove that painting existed in England before the restoration of it in Italy by Cimabue. If what we possessed of it in those ignorant times could be called painting, I suppose Italy and every nation in Europe retained enough of the deformity of the art to contest with us in point of antiquity. That we had gone backwards in the science farther almost than any other country, is evident from our coins, on which there is no more of human similitude, than an infant's first scrawl of the profile of a face ; and so far therefore as badness of drawing approaches to antiquity of ignorance, we may lay in our claim to very ancient possession. As Italy has so long excelled us in the refinement of the art, she may leave us the enjoyment of original imperfection.

However, as Mr. Vertue's partiality flowed from love of his country, and as this is designed for a work of curiosity, not of speculation and reasoning, I shall faithfully lay before the reader such materials as that laborious antiquary had amassed for deducing the History of English Painting from a very early period.

The \* first evidences in favour of the art are drawn from our records †, which Mr. Vertue had carefully consulted. There he found the following entries ‡ :

" MCCXXVIII, A° 12 HEN. III. m. f. Rex thes. et camer. suis salutem.  
" Liberate cuidam pictori 20s. ad cameram magni scaccarii depingendam."

This does not express the kind; whether the chamber was to be painted with figures, ornaments, &c. or whether the *quidam pictor* was not a mere house-painter; probably an artist of higher rank, as twenty shillings would have been a great price in that age for painting wainscot. However, the next record is more explicit, and ascertains the point in question :

\* Dr. Thorpe, M. D. when writing his History of the town and diocese of Rochester, discovered at the west end of that cathedral two busts of Henry I. and his queen in stone, which had never been observed before.

† Since the first edition of this work, I have been informed by a curious gentleman, that the earliest place in a catalogue of English painters is due to St. Wolstan, bishop of Worcester in 1062, or at least to Ervenius or Erwen, his master. William of Malmesbury, who wrote the life of Wolstan in three books, gives the following account: "Habebat tunc [Wolstanus] magistrum Ervenium nomine, inscribendo et quilibet coloribus effigendo peritum. Is libros scriptos, sacramentarium et psalterium, quorum principales litteras auro effigaverit, puero Wolstano delegandos curavit. Ille preciosorum apicum captus miraculo, dum pulchritudinem intentis oculis rimatur, scientiam litterarum internis hausit medullis. Verum doctor ad sæculi spectans commodum, spe majoris premii, sacramentarium re-

gi, tunc temporis Cnutoni, psalterium Emmæ reginæ contribuit. Perculit puerilem animum fasti dispendium, et ex imo pectore alta traxit suspiria." If this passage is not sufficient authority, as I think it is not, to prove St. Wolstan a painter, at least it is decisive for Ervenius, who was certainly an illuminator of MSS.

‡ There are two records more ancient than any that follow; but they relate to architecture, not painting: however, as not foreign to this work, I shall insert them here: they are both of the reign of king JOHN:

"Anno 1209, vicecomites Lond. et Midl. allocaverunt Elyæ ingeniatori x marcas, ad reparationem domorum regis apud Westmonast. per breve H. archiep. Cantuar."

"Anno 1210, Willelmus Puintellus redd. comp. de 1216l. 13s. 6d. quos recepit de thesauro ad operationes turris Londoniæ."

William Puintell might be only a surveyor, but Elyas was certainly an architect.

" MCCXXXIII.

"MCCXXXIII. Liberate A° 17 HEN. III. m. 6. Mandatum est vicecomiti Southton. quod cameram regis \* lambruscatam de castro Winton. depingi faciat eisdem historiis et picturis quibus fuerat prius depicta. Et custum, &c. computabitur. Teste rege apud Kideministr. iii die Junii."

There are more remarkable circumstances than one in this venerable scrap: as, the simplicity of the times; the king sending a precept to the sheriff of Hampshire to have a chamber in the royal castle painted; and his majesty, like the Roman general, who threatened his soldiers if they broke any of the antique Corinthian statues that they should pay for having others made, giving orders to the same sheriff to have the chamber re-painted with the same pictures and histories with which it had been adorned before; and which, by the way, implies that history-painting had been in use still longer than this date, which was the earliest Mr. Vertue could discover †.

"Liberate A° 17 HEN. III. m. 10. Mandatum est custodi domorum regis de Wudestok quod in rotundâ capellâ regis de Wudestok bonis coloribus depingi faciat majestatem Domini et iiii Evangelistas, et imaginem sancti Edmundi ex unâ parte, et imaginem sancti Edwardi ex aliâ parte, et ibi fieri faciat. duas ‡ verimas novas."

"Rot. Clatf. 20 HEN. III. m. 12. Mandatum est thesaurario regis, quod magnam cameram regis apud Westm. bono viridi colore depingi faciat ad modum curtanæ et in magno gabulo ejusdem cameræ juxta hostium (ostium) depingi ludum illum

"§ Ke ne dune ke ne tine, ne pret ke desire;

"et etiam parvam garderobam regis viridi colore ad modum curtanæ depingi faciat: ita quod rex in primo adventu suo illuc inveniat predictas cameram et garderobam ita depictas et ornatas, sicut predictum est."

\* *Lambruscatam*, wainscoted, from the French *lambris*.

† Some have ascribed the introduction of painting into this island to venerable Bede.

‡ *Verimas*, a barbarous word, not to be found even in Dufresne's glossary. One cannot help observing the absurdity of those times, in couch-

ing orders in a language which they could not write, and addressed to persons by whom it was not understood.

§ *Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce qu'il desire*; or, as it is expressed in another record, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat*.



“ Rot. Claus. A° 20 HEN. III. m. 12. Mandatum est H. de Pateshull  
 “ thesaurario domini regis, quod borduram a tergo sedis regis in capellâ sancti  
 “ Stephani apud Westm. et borduram a tergo sedis reginæ ex aliâ parte ejusdem  
 “ capellæ interius et exterius depingi faciat de viridi colore: juxta sedem ipsius  
 “ reginæ depingi faciat quandam crucem cum Mariâ et Johanne ex opposito  
 “ crucis regis, quæ juxta sedem regis depicta est. T. vii die Febr.”

The next record, which has been mentioned by Stowe, gives directions for repairing the granary under the Tower, and all the leaden gutters, and for leading the whole thoroughly on that side, *per quas gentes videre possint*, and for white-washing the chapel of St. John, and for making three glass windows in the same chapel, in which were to be represented, a little Virgin Mary holding the child, and the Trinity and St. John the apostle. It gives orders too that (patibulum) a cross should be painted behind the altar, *bene et bonis coloribus*; and wherever it could be done most conveniently, there were to be drawn in the same chapel two images of St. Edward holding out a ring and delivering it to St. John the evangelist. “ Et dealbari faciat (adds the record) totum veterem murum circa sepedictam Turrim nostram. Et custum quod ad hoc posueritis, per visum et testimonium legalium hominum, computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. Teste rege apud Windesor. x die Decembr.”

It is evident from this and some following passages, that as \* painting on glass was then known, the art of painting in general could not be at a very low ebb.

Then follows another, regarding the same place: “ Rex eisdem salutem. Præcipimus vobis quod cancellum beatæ Mariæ in ecclesiâ sancti Petri infra ballium turris nostræ London. et cancellum beati Petri in eadem ecclesia, et ab introitu cancelli beati Petri usque ad spatium quatuor pedum ultra stallos ad opus nostrum et reginæ nostræ in eadem ecclesia factos bene et decenter labrascari faciat, et eosdem stallos depingi, et Mariolam cum suo tabernaculo et ymagines beatorum Petri, Nicolai et Katerinæ, et trabem ultra altare beati Petri, et parvum patibulum cum suis ymaginibus de novo colorari, et bonis coloribus refrescari, et fieri faciat quandam ymaginem de beato Petro

\* In Aubrey's MS. Survey of Wiltshire, in the library of the Royal Society, he says, on the authority of sir W. Dugdale, that the first painted glass in England was done in king John's time. Vol. ii. p. 85.

“ in solempni apparatu archiepiscopali in parte boreali ultra dictum altare, et  
 “ de optimis coloribus depingi; et quandam ymaginem de sancto Christo-  
 “ fero tenentem et portantem Jesum, ubi melius et decentius fieri potest, et  
 “ depingi in prædicta ecclesia. Et fieri faciatis duas tabulas pulcras et de op-  
 “ timis coloribus et de historiis beatorum Nicolai et Katerinæ depingi ante  
 “ altaria dictorum sanctorum in eadem ecclesia; et duos cherumbinos stantes  
 “ a dextris et a sinistris magni patibuli pulcros fieri faciatis in prædicta ecclesia  
 “ cum hilari vultu et jocofo; et præterea unum fontem marmoreum cum  
 “ colompnis marmoreis bene et decenter incis. Et custum, &c. Teste ut  
 “ supra.”

The next again specifies the sum to be expended on paintings at West-  
 minster: “ Rot. Liberat. A° 21 HEN. III. m. 5. Rex thesaurario et camera-  
 “ riis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostra Odoni aurifabro custodi ope-  
 “ rationis nostræ Westm. quatuor libras et undecim solidos ad picturas faci-  
 “ endas in camera nostra ibidem. Teste rege apud Westm. ii die Augusti.”

The next contains the first mention we have of a star-chamber.

“ Liberat. A° 22 HEN. III. m. 3. Mandatum est viç. Southampt. quod  
 “ cameram apud Winton. colorari faciat viridi colore, et *stellari* auro, in qui-  
 “ bus depingantur historiæ veteris et novi testamenti.”

The next precept is very remarkable, as implying the use of oil colours\*,

\* John ab Eyck, the supposed inventor of painting in oil, which he was said to discover in a search for varnish, died in 1441. In the record before us, both oil and varnish are mentioned, and the former might indeed be only used in the composition of the latter. Mr. Raspe, in his curious treatise published in 1781, has proved that oil-painting was known long before its pretended discovery by Van Eyck. And governor Pownall, in the 9th vol. of the Archæologia, p. 151, 152, and 154, has produced from the Sacristy of Ely some accounts that are as explicit as possible, that oil was used in the mixture of colours. The first says, “ In tres lagenis et

dimid. olei pro ymaginibus super columnas depingend.”—The next, “ In 31 lagenis et dimid. olei empt. . . pro color. temperand.” (for mixing colours, which is distinguishing it from varnish.)—And the third, “ In oleo empt. pro picture faciend. in capellâ.”—Could oil-painting be more exactly described at this day?

1. Oil for painting images on columns, 1325.
2. Oil for mixing colours.
3. Oil for making pictures in the chapel.

Note too, that the first is dated in the reign of Edward the second—the last in that of Edward the third.



long before that method is supposed to have been discovered. It is dated in his 23d year, 1239, and runs in these words:

“Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Odoni aurifabro et Edwardo filio suo centum et septemdecem solidos et decem denarios pro oleo, vernici, et coloribus emptis, et picturis factis in camerâ reginæ nostræ apud Westm. 10 octavis sanctæ trinitatis anno regni nostri xxiii usque ad festum sancti Barnabæ apostoli eodem anno, scilicet per xv dies.”

There is another mandate of his 25th year, for two windows with pictures in the hall, and with the motto above mentioned, of which I do not know that any of our antiquaries have taken notice.

The two following precepts are so connected with the foregoing, that, though relating only to building not to painting, I shall insert them here, as their most proper place.

“A<sup>o</sup> 28 HEN. III. Mandatum est vice-comiti Kancix quod sub omni qua poterit festinatione emi faciat et cariari usque Westmon. 100 navatas griseæ petreæ ad operationes quas ibi sine dilatione fieri rex præcepit: et talem et tam festinantem diligentiam ad hoc mandatum regis exequendum ponat, quod se inde rex commendare debeat: et ne W. de Haverhull thesaurarius et Edwardus, quibus operationes prædictas rex injunxit faciendas, culpam dilationis in se refundere possint, si prædictæ operationes contra voluntatem regis differantur.”

“Rex dedit et concessit Deo et beato Edwardo et ecclesiæ Westmonasterii ad fabricam ipsius ecclesiæ 2591 libras, in quibus regi tenetur Licoricia, quæ fuit uxor David de Oxonio Judæi. Et rex vult quod pecunia illa reddatur ad novum scaccarium, quod rex ad hoc constituit apud Westmonasterium, archidiacono Westmonasterii, et Edwardo de Westminster, quos ejusdem scaccarii thesaurarios assignavit. Teste rege apud Windfore.”

The miserable Latin of these orders is not the most curious part of them. The hundred barge loads of grey stone to be purchased by the sheriff of Kent might

might be either from a Kentish quarry, or to be imported from the coast of France. The king's great impatience about his new works, and the large fine from a Jew's widow which he bestows on his new edifice, are very observable. But the most memorable is the origin of the Exchequer, which seems by this precept to have been instituted solely for the carrying on the new building at Westminster.

The next is in the year 1248. "Rex vicecomiti Southamtoniæ salutem. "Præcipimus tibi quod de exitibus comitatus tui depingi facias in capella reginæ nostræ apud Wintoniam super gâbulum versus occidentem ymaginem Christoferi, sicut alibi depingitur; in ulnis suis deferat Christum; et ymaginem beati Edwardi regis, qualiter tradidit annulum suum cuidam peregrino, cujus ymago similiter depingatur. Teste rege apud Windefore vii die Maii."

Another. "Rex custodi manerii de Wudestoke præcepit, ut inter alia fieri faciat duas fenestras de albo vitro, et fenestram aulæ versus orientem, similiter cum picturâ ejus aulæ emendari faciat. Quoddam etiam scaccarium fieri faciat in eadem aulâ, quod contineat hunc versum, Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat."

"Clauſ. 33 HEN. III. m. 3. Rex injunxit magistro Johanni de sancto Omero quod garderobam cameræ regis apud Westm. perpingi faceret sicut picturâ illius garderobæ inchoatur, et quod faceret unum lectrinum ponendum in novo capitulo Westm. ad similitudinem illius quod est in capitulo sancti Albani, vel decentius et pulerius, si fieri poterit; et ad hæc faciendâ colores et mæremium et necessarias liberationes usque ad adventum regis London. ei inveniri faceret. Et custum ad hæc appositum, cum rex illud sciverit, reddi faciet. Et mandatum est abbati Westm. Edwardo filio Odonis, et Philippo Luvel, quod liberationes et alia necessaria supra inveniri fac. Teste rege apud Windefore xxiii die Septembr."

In Henry's 34th year Edward of Westminster is ordered to have painted in the chapel of St. Stephen the images of the Apostles round about the said chapel, by the following precept;

" Claus. 34 HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum est Edwardo \* de Westm. quod in capella beati Stephani depingi faciat imagines Apostolorum in circuitu ejusdem capellæ; et judicium in occidentali parte ejusdem; et iconem beatæ Mariæ virginis in quadam tabula similiter pingi faciat; ita quod hæc parata sint in adventu regis. Teste rege apud Brugwauter xiii die Augusti."

The next, dated in the same year, exhibits a donation of three oaks for making images.

" Claus. 34 HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum est custodi\* parci regis de Periton quod in eodem parco faciat habere sacristæ Glaston. tres quercus ad imagines inde faciendas et ponendas in ecclesia sua Glaston. de dono regis. Teste rege apud Glaston. xv die Augusti."

The following is not less curious:

" Claus. 34 HEN. III. m. 12. Mandatum est R. de Sandesford magistro militiæ templi in Anglia quod faciat habere Henrico de warderoba, latori pre-

\* This Edward of Westminster is the same person with Edward Fitz-Odo mentioned in the preceding order, and I suppose son of Odo Auri-faber, recorded above. It appears by Dart's History of the Abbey that he was master of the works; and Dart quotes the records in the Tower on the authority of Strype. The whole passage is worth transcribing, as it shows the passion of Henry for adorning his new foundation there, called then, The new work at Westminster †.

" In the 28th of his reign he commanded Edward Fitz-Odo to make a dragon, in manner of a standard or ensign, of red samit, to be embroi-

dered with gold, and his tongue to appear, as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphire, or other stones agreeable to him, to be placed in this church against the king's coming thither.

" And the queen set up in the seretry of St. Edward the image of the blessed Virgin Mary; and the king caused the aforesaid Edward Fitz-Odo, keeper of his works at Westminster, to place upon her forehead for ornament, an emerald and a ruby, taken out of two rings which the bishop of Chichester had left the king for a legacy." Dart, vol. i. p. 26. edit. 1742 †.

† Duchesne, Antiq. France, vol. i. p. 145, says the Louvre was so called from l'œuvre, the new work.

‡ The Fitz-Othos were Germans, brought over by Henry Ist; and the family rose to such eminence, that Thomas, son of William, married a daughter of W. Beauchamp, baron of Bedford, &c. Of William is a curious seal, as Mint-master, in Nichols's Biblioth. Topograph. No. XX. p. 63.

"sentium,



"fentium, ad opus reginæ \* quendam librum magnum, qui est in domo sua  
 "London. Gallico ydiomate scriptum, in quo continentur gesta Antiochiæ et  
 "regum aliorum, &c. Teste rége apud Westm. xvii die Maii."

The two next specify the use that was to be made of the above-mentioned book, which I conclude contained an † account of the Crusade, the history of which the king orders to be painted in the Tower and at Westminster in a low chamber in the garden near what in the writ is named the King's Jewry ‡, and which room his majesty orders to be thenceforward called the Antioch-chamber; the origin probably of what is now styled the Jerusalem-chamber.

"Clauf. A° 35 HEN. III. m. 11. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm.  
 "quod depingi faciat historiam Antioch. in camera regis turris London. sicut  
 "ei dicet Thomas Espernir, et custum, quod ad hoc posuerit, rex ei faciet  
 "allocari. Teste rege apud Winton. v die Junii."

"Ibidem, m. 19. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm. quod Judaïsmum  
 "regis apud Westm. et magnum § cellarium, vinorum regis lambruscari, et  
 "bassam cameram in gardino regis, et parvam turellam ultra capellam ibidem  
 "depingi,

\* The beauty of Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III, is thus celebrated by Langtoft in his Chronicle, published by Hearne, vol. i. p. 213.

Henry king, our prince, at Westmynster kirke  
 The erlys douhter of Province, the fairest may  
 o lif,

Her name is Helianore, of gentille norture,  
 Bizond the fe that wore was non fuilk creature.

† The emperor Frederic II. had sent to king Henry a large account of his war in the Holy Land, in a letter under his own seal. See note to Tindal's Rapin under the year 1228.

‡ This Judaïsm, or Jewry, was probably an exchequer or treasury erected by Henry for receiving the sums levied on the Jews, from whom he extorted a third part of their substance to carry on the war with France. Rapin ubi supra.

§ There are two records among the foregoing, which, though not relating to my subject, but to the wine-cellar, and even to the composing of wines for his majesty, are so curious that I am persuaded the reader will be glad to see them.

"Clauf. A° 34 HEN. III. m. 19. De potibus  
 "delicatis ad opus regis faciendis. Mandatum  
 "est custodibus vinorum regis Winton. quod de  
 "vinis regis quæ habent in custodia sua, libe-  
 "rent || Roberto de Monte Pessulano tanta et  
 "talia, qualia et quanta capere voluerit, ad po-  
 "tus regis pretiosos delicatos inde faciendos.  
 "Teste rege apud Lutegareshall xxvi die No-  
 "vembris."

"Clauf. 36 HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum est  
 "custodibus vinorum regis de Ebor. quod de  
 "melioribus vinis regis quæ sunt in custodia sua  
 "faciant habere Roberto de Monte Pessulano

|| See more of him in Pegge's Life of Roger Weseham.

“depingi, et in eadem camera unum caminum fieri faciat, quam quidem cameram Antioch volumus appellari.”

These that follow all relate to various paintings :

“Ibidem, m. 5. Mandatum est Simoni Capellano, et aliis custodibus operationum Windefor. quod claustrum regis in castro Windefor. paviri et lambruscari, et Apostolos depingi faciant, sicut rex ei et magistro Willielmo pictori suo ibidem injunxit. Teste rege apud Havering. xx die Augusti.”

“Liberat. 36 HEN. III. m. 15. Rex vicecomiti Nottinghamiæ salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod in camera reginæ nostræ apud Nottingham depingi facias historiam Alexandri circumquaque ; et cultum quod ad hoc posueritis computabitur. Teste rege apud Nottingham xv die Januarii.”

“Liberat. 36 HEN. III. m. 15. Mandatum vic. Northampton. quod fieri faciat in castro North. fenestras de albo vitro, et in eisdem historiam Lazari et Divitis depingi.”

“Clauſ. 36 HEN. III. m. 22. Mandatum est Radulpho de Dungun, custodi librorum \* regis, quod magistro Willielmo pictori regis habere faciat colores ad depingendum parvam garderobam reginæ, et emendandum picturam magnæ cameræ regis et cameræ reginæ. Teste rege apud Westm. xxv die Febr. Per regem.”

The six next precepts appertain to various arts, not to painting in particular.

“Clauſ. 36 HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm. quod

“duo dōlia albi vini et garhiofilacum, et unum  
“dolum rubri vini ad † claretum inde faciend.  
“ad opus regis contra instans festum Nativitatis  
“Dominicæ. Et mandatum est Rob. de Monte  
“Pessulano quod festinanter accedat ad Ebor. et  
“garhiofilac. et claret. predicti faciat sicut annis  
“preteritis facere consuevit.”

\* It would be a great curiosity if we could recover a list of his majesty's library. It probably contained some illuminated MSS. as the librarian had the keeping of the colours too. The original copy of Matthew Paris with miniatures, in the British Museum, was certainly a present to this king from the author.

† A composition of wine and honey. V. Hist. de l'ancienne Chevalerie, vol. i. p. 49.

“cum

“ cum festinatione perquirat quendam pulcrum gladium, et scauberg. ejusdem  
 “ de serico, et pomellum de argento bene et ornate cooperiri, et quendam pul-  
 “ cram zonam eidem pendere faciat, ita quod gladium illum sic factum habeat  
 “ apud Ebor. de quo \* rex Alexandrum regem Scotiæ illustrem cingulo mili-  
 “ tari decorare possit in instanti festo Nativitatis Dominicæ. Teste rege apud  
 “ Lychfeld xxi die Novembr. Per ipsum regem.”

\* Claus. 36 HEN. III. m. 30. Mandatum est J. de Somercote † et Rogero  
 “ Sciffiori, quod sine dilatione fieri faciant unum lectum pretiosum, ita quod  
 “ illud decenter et ornate factum habeat apud Ebor. ad dandum illud Alex.  
 “ regi Scotiæ illustri in instanti festo Nativitatis Dominicæ.”

“ Ibidem. Mandatum est J. de Somercote et Rogero Sciffiori, quod de me-  
 “ lioribus samittis quos invenire poterunt sine dilatione faciant quatuor robas,  
 “ duas videlicet ad opus regis, et duas ad opus reginæ, cum aurifraxi semi-  
 “ latis, et varii coloris, et quod tunicæ sint de mollioribus samittis quam pallia  
 “ et supertunicæ; et quod pallia furrentur cum ermino, et supertunicæ de mi-  
 “ nuto vario; ita quod rex habeat prædictas robas ornate factas apud Ebor.  
 “ ad hoc instans festum Nativitatis Dominicæ. Teste rege apud Lychfeld  
 “ xxi die Novembr.”

“ Ibidem. Mandatum est J. de Somercote et Rogero Sciffiori, quod præter  
 “ illas duas robas quas rex fieri precepit ad opus suum, fieri faciant ad opus  
 “ regis tres robas de queintisis, videlicet unam robam de meliori samitto vio-  
 “ laceo, quam invenire poterunt, cum tribus parvis ‡ leopardis in parte ante-  
 “ riori, et aliis tribus parte posteriori; et duas de aliis melioribus pannis  
 “ qui inveniri poterunt; ita quod robas illas decenter et ornate factas rex  
 “ promptas habeat apud Ebor. in festo Nativitatis Domini.”

“ Claus. 39 HEN. III. Rex concessit magistro Johanni de Gloucestre ce-  
 “ mentario suo, quod toto tempore vitæ suæ quietus sit de omnimodo tailagio  
 “ et thelonio ubique per totam potestatem regis.”

\* Alexander III. king of Scotland married Margaret, daughter of Henry, at Yrk. tent to be Warden of the mint, Custos cambii per totum regnum.

† In the same year J. de Somercote had a pa- ‡ The lions in the arms of England were originally leopards.

“ Claus.



" Claus. 43 HEN. III. m. 10. Mandatum est magistro Johanni de Glouc. cementario suo, et custodibus operationum Westm. quod quinque imagines regum incisas in franca petra, et quandam petram ad supponendum pedibus unius imaginis beatæ Mariæ, faciatis habere custodibus operationum ecclesiæ sancti Martini London. ad easdem operationes, de dono regis. Teste rege apud Westm. xi die Maii."

Then comes a record entitled Pro rege de coloribus ad picturam Windsor.

" Claus. A° 44 HEN. III. m. 6. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm. quod colores et alia ad picturam necessaria sine dilatione faciat habere fratri Willielmo monacho Westm. pictori regis, ad picturas regis apud Windsor inde \* renovandas, prout idem frater Willielmus predicto Edwardo dicet ex parte regis. Et hoc sicut regem diligit, non omittat; et cum rex sciverit custum quod ad hoc posuerit, rex breve suum de liberate sibi habere faciet. Teste rege apud Windsor xiii die Augusti."

The next is inscribed De pictura Rap. Guldef. and contains the following orders:

" Liberate A° 44 HEN. III. m. 11. Rex vicecom. Surr. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod exitibus comitatus tui picturas magnæ aulae nostræ de Guldeford, prout necesse fuerit, sine dilatione emendari, et in magna camera nostra ibidem ad caput lecti nostri super album murum quoddam pallium depingi, et tabulas et fruntellum altaris magnæ capellæ nostræ ibidem sine dilatione fieri facias, prout injunximus Willielmo Florentino pictori; et custum quod ad hoc posueris per visum et testimonium proborum et legalium hominum conf. &c. Teste meipso apud Westm. xxx die Octobr."

I conclude that master William, William the monk of Westminster, and William of Florence were the same person. What arts we had, as well as learning, lay chiefly among the religious in those ages. One remark I am surprised Mr. Vertue did not make, when he was assigning greater antiquity to painting in England than in Italy, that this William of Florence was an Italian.

\* Hence it appears that Windsor had been a consequently long before it was beautified by place of note even before the reign of HEN. III. Edward III.

The two following are little remarkable, except that in the last we find the name of another painter.

"Liberate A° 49 HEN. III. m. 7. Rex thes. et camerariis suis salutem.  
 "Liberate de thesauro nostro pictoribus cameræ nostræ apud Westm. septem  
 "libras et decem solidos ad picturas ejusdem cameræ capellæ nostræ retro  
 "lectum nostrum ibidem faciend."

"Liberate A° 51 HEN. III. m. 10. et 8. Rex ballivis civitatis London.  
 "salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de firma civitatis prædictæ habere faciatis  
 "magistro Waltero pictori nostro viginti marcas ad picturas cameræ nostræ  
 "apud Westm. inde faciend. et hoc nullo modo omittatis. Et computabitur  
 "vobis ad scaccarium. Teste rege apud Westm. vii die Januar."

Among these records I find the following curious memorandum of the sums expended on the king's building at Westminster to the forty-fifth year of his reign :

"Summa cust. operationum West. ab inceptione usque in die dominica  
 "proxima post festum divi Michaelis anno regni regis Henrici xlv<sup>to</sup>. Et cclx  
 "libræ restant solvendæ pro stipendiis alborum cissorum et minorum ope-  
 "rariarum, et pro franca petra et aliis emptionibus quæ non computantur in  
 "hac summa ; xxix millia, cccxlv l. xix s. viii d."

The last piece I have to produce relates to works to be done for the Prince and his consort Eleanor ; with the addition of the salary of master William, who was allowed six-pence a day, as surveyor of the works at Guilford :

"Liberate 52 HEN. III. m. 11. Rex vicecom. Surr. et Suff. salutem.  
 "Precipimus tibi quod de exitibus com. prædictorum infra curiam nostram  
 "manerii nostri de Guldeford quandam cameram cum stadio et camino, gar-  
 "deroba, et camera forinseca, et quandam capellam ad caput ejusdem cameræ,  
 "cum stadio et fenestris vitreis, easdem cameram et capellam decentibus, ad  
 "opus karissimæ filiæ nostræ Alianoræ consortis Edwardi primogeniti nostri,  
 "et unam cameram cum stadio et camino camera forinseca, et fenestris vi-  
 "treis



“treis eandem cameram decentibus, ad opus militum karissimæ consortis  
 “nostræ Alianoræ reginæ Angliæ, et quoddam \* appenticm. ibidem de novo  
 “sine dilatione fieri, et herbarium ejusdem reginæ nostræ reparari et emen-  
 “dari facias, secundum quod Willielmo Florentino pictori nostro injunximus,  
 “et idem Willielmus plenius tibi scire faciet ex parte nostra; et cultum, &c.  
 “per visum, &c. computabitur.

“Rex eidem vicecom. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod de exitibus com.  
 “prædictorum facias habere Willielmo Florentino custodi operationum nostra-  
 “rum manerii nostri de Guldeford singulis diebus sex denarios pro stipendiis  
 “suis, quam diu fueris vicecomes noster eorundem comitat. et prædictus  
 “Willielmus custos fuerit operationum prædictarum, sicut eos temporibus  
 “retroactis ante turbationem habitam in regno ibidem percipere consuevit: et  
 “cultum, &c. Teste rege apud Westm. xxix die Jan.”

Besides the palaces above mentioned, this prince laid out, too, large sums in repairing and beautifying Kenelworth castle, cieling the chapel with wainscot, painting that and the queen's chamber, and rebuilding the wall on the outside, as it remained to the time of sir William Dugdale †.

I cannot pass over the princess Eleanor, so much celebrated by our legendary historians for sucking the poison out of her husband's wound, without mentioning the crosses erected to her memory, which Vertue with great probability supposed were built on the designs of Peter Cavallini, a Roman sculptor, and whom from various circumstances he discovered to be the architect of the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

The reader, I am persuaded, will be pleased to see how ingeniously my author traced out this hitherto unknown fact.

\* Sic originale.

† See his Warwicksh. p. 244. In the same reign John of Hertford, abbot of St. Albans, made great additions to his convent, and in one of the chambers placed A NOBLE PICTURE. See

Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 21. One Lamb-birt, builder or repairer of the same church, heaped his own rebus, a lamb and a bird, among the ornaments. Alen Strayler was illuminator to that abbey.

The original inscription on the tomb ran thus :

Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno  
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,  
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum  
Romanus civis: Homo, causam noscere si vis,  
Rex fuit Henricus, sancti præsentis amicus.

The words *Petrus duxit in actum Romanus civis* were discernible till very lately. Some old authors ascribe the erection of the shrine to Henry himself; others, to Richard de Ware the abbat, elected in 1260. It is probable that both were concerned. The new abbat repaired to Rome immediately on his election to receive consecration from Urban IV. At that time, says Vasari, flourished there Peter Cavallini, a painter and the inventor of mosaic, who had performed several costly works in that city. About four years before the arrival of abbat Ware, that is in 1256, had been erected a splendid shrine \* for the martyrs Simplicius and Faustina, at the expence of John James Capoccio and his wife, adorned with twisted columns and inlaid with precious marbles exactly in the taste, though not in the precise form, of that of St. Edward. Nothing is more probable than that a rich abbat, either at his own expence, or to gratify the taste of his magnificent master, should engage a capital artist to return with him and undertake the shrine of his master's patron-saint, and the great patron of his own church. Weaver says expressly that the abbat brought back with him from Rome *workmen* and rich porphyry stones for Edward the Confessor's feretory; and for the pavement of the chapel †.

\* A draught of it by Mr. Talman in the proper colours is preserved in the first volume of the drawings belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. A sketch of it I have among Vertue's MSS. Great part of that identic shrine, which stood originally in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, and was removed of late years, on making a new pavement to the church, is now at Strawberry-hill, in a chapel erected on purpose to receive it; being sent to Mr. Walpole by Sir William Hamilton, envoy to Naples, who purchased it on its removal.

† Before Henry III. began the present church, there had been a rich shrine for the Confessor erected by William I. as the latter says expressly

in his charter. Edward had bestowed Windsor on the Abbey of Westminster; the Conqueror, on his accession, prevailed on the abbat and convent to restore Windsor, in exchange for other lands, being delighted with the site: "Maximè utilis et commodus est visus propter contiguam aquam et silvam venationibus aptam," says he; and after naming the lordships he gave them, he mentions the gift of an hundred pounds of silver to complete and finish the building of the Abbey, and then adds, "Ob reverentiam nimii amoris quem ego in ipsum inclitum regem Edwardum habueram, tumbum ejus et reginæ juxta eum posite, ex auro et argento fabrilii opere artificiosi decoris mirificè operiri feci."

E

This

This abbat was lord treasurer to his death in 1283, and was buried on the north side of the great altar : over him was anciently this epitaph confirming the circumstances above mentioned :

Abbas Richardus de Warâ, qui requiescit  
Hic, portat lapides, quos hic portavit ab Urbe.

Vafari's silence on Cavalini's journey to England ought to be no objection ; he not only wrote some hundred years after the time, but confounds his own account so strangely as to make Peter Cavalini scholar of Giotto, who was twenty years younger. If it may be imagined that Richard Ware could not have interest enough to seduce so capital a workman from the service of the pope, it might still be accounted for by higher authority. Edward I. returning from the Holy Land was conducted by the king of Sicily to Rome to visit Gregory X. who had been Edward's companion and friend in the Holy War. An artful pope would certainly be glad to furnish a young king with artists who would encourage him in raising shrines and temples. The monument of Henry III. erected by his son, is beautified in the same taste with porphyry and mosaic ; and the first brâzen statue known to have been cast here, lies upon it. The old paintings round the chapel of St. Edward, and those in a very beautiful and superior style, though much decayed, over the ragged regiment, Vertue ascribes to the same Cavalini. This painter and sculptor probably, as I have said, gave the designs for the crosses erected by Edward to his beloved Eleanor \*. Vertue had drawn them, with a design of engraving ; I have his original drawings. I must not omit, that it was no small part of Peter Cavalini's fame, that he made the crucifix that spoke to St. Bridget †.

From all the testimonies above recited, Henry III. appears in a new light from what has hitherto been known of him. That he was a weak prince in point of government is indisputable. That he was a great encourager of the arts, these records demonstrate. When historians talk of his profusion, they evidence only in what he dissipated on his favourites. But it is plain that the

\* I have some suspicion that a son of Peter Cavalini is the person called Peter le Orfever, mentioned in a precept of Edward II. He is there entitled of Stanford, and brought an action against certain persons for assault and bat-

tery. As one of queen Eleanor's crosses was erected there, it is not improbable that a son of Cavalini might marry and settle in that town. See Peck's Stanford, lib. x. sect. 13.

† Felibien, vol. i. p. 172.



number and magnificence of his buildings and palaces must have swallowed great part of the sums, maliciously charged to the single article of unworthy favourites. It matters not how a prince squanders what he has tyrannically squeezed from the subject: if he exceeds his revenue, it is almost as ill spent on edifices as on ministers. But it is perhaps no more than justice to make some allowance for partial or exaggerated relations. Henry was not a wise prince—may I venture to say more—he was not a martial prince. Even in these more sensible ages, one illustrious defect in a king converts all his other foibles into excellencies. It must have done so much more in a season of such heroic barbarism as that of Henry III. and the want of an enterprising spirit in that prince made even his patronage of the arts be imputed to effeminacy, or be overlooked. The extravagance of Louis XIV. in his buildings, gardens, water-works, passed for an object of glory under the canon (if I may say so) of his ambition. Henry III. had no conquests to illuminate his cielings, his halls, his bas-reliefs. Yet perhaps the generous sentiment implied in his motto, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat*, contained more true glory than all the Fast couched under Louis's emblem of the sun, and his other ostentatious devices. But let us compare Henry with one nearer to him. Henry's reign is one of the most ignominious in our annals; that of Edward the Ist, of the most triumphant. Yet I would ask, By which of the two did the nation suffer most? By sums lavished on favourites and buildings; or by sums and blood wasted in unjust wars? If we look narrowly into Edward's reign, we shall scarce \* find fewer representations against the tyranny of the son than against the encroachments of the father. Who will own that he had not rather employ master William and Edward of Westminster to paint the gestes of the kings of Antioch, than imitate the son in his barbarities in Wales and usurpations in Scotland?

\* See the Parliamentary History.

## C H A P. II.

*State of Painting from the Reign of HENRY III. to the End of HENRY VI.*

FROM the reign of Henry III. Mr. Vertue could discover no records relating to the arts for several reigns. I shall endeavour to fill this hiatus by producing an almost entire chronologic series of paintings from that time to Henry VII. when Mr. Vertue's notes recommence.

During the reigns of the two first Edwards, I find no vestiges \* of the art, though it was certainly preserved here, at least by painting on glass. No wonder that a proud, a warlike, and ignorant nobility encouraged only that branch which attested their dignity. Their dungeons were rendered still darker by their pride. It was the case of all the arts; none flourished, but what served to display their wealth, or contributed to their security. They were magnificent without luxury, and pompous without elegance. Rich plate, even to † the enamelling on gold, rich stuffs, and curious armour were carried to excess, while their chairs were mere pedestals, their clothes were incumbrances, and they knew no use of steel but as it served for safety or de-

\* Except that in the reign of Edward I. bishop Langton built a palace and hall at Litchfield, in which was painted the ceremony of the coronation, &c. Brown Willis's Cath. vol. i. p. 17.

† Bishop Wickham's crozier at Oxford is an instance how well the pomp of prelacy was served by ingenious artists. It is certain that in the reigns of the two first Edwards there were Greek enamellers in England, who both practised and taught the art. In Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 397, 403, are mentioned enamelled cups very near that period; and some ancient pieces are still extant. The beautiful cup of gold, enamel-

led with figures in the habits of the time, given by king John to the corporation of Lynn in Norfolk, and still preserved there, gives a very favourable idea of the taste and artisans of an age a little antecedent to that I am speaking of. King Alfred's jewel, found at Athelney in Somersetshire, and of which there is a print in Camden's Britannia, is of much more ancient date, but of workmanship far more rude. I call it a jewel, because it seems to have been used as jewels were afterwards, appendent to ribbands. By the cut, I should take it for engraven gold. Camden, which is extraordinary, does not describe the materials, but calls it a picture; which would make one think it was enamelled.

struction.

struction. Their houses, for there was no medium between castles and hovels, implied the dangers of society, not the sweets of it; and whenever peace left them leisure to think of modes, they seemed to imagine that fashion consisted in transfiguring the human body, instead of adding grace to it. While the men wore shoes so long and picked, that they were forced to support the points by chains from their middle; the ladies erected such pyramids on their heads, that the face became the centre of the body; and they were hardened to these preposterous inconveniencies by their priests, who, instead of leaving them to be cured by the sickleness of fashions, or by the trouble of them, denounced God's judgments on follies against which a little laughter and a little common sense had been more effectual sermons. It was not far distant, I think, from the period of which I am speaking, that the ladies wore looking-glasses about the same height of their bodies, with that, on which the men displayed such indecent symbols\*. The representations of these extravagances (as we see them collected by Montfaucon in his *Antiquities of France*) demanded Japanese and Indian painters; were not likely to produce Vandycks and Titians. While we are curious in tracing the progress of barbarism, we wonder more that any arts existed, than that they attained no degree of perfection.

Of the third Edward, says Mr. Vertue†, many portraits are preserved, at Windsor, in illuminated MSS. and elsewhere. As he has not marked where these limnings exist, I can give no account of them myself, nor refer the reader to the inspection of them. But there is a portrait taken from a bust of the same age, the face of which is far from being executed in a contemptible manner. It represents that artist and patron of arts, William of Wickham bishop of Winchester, and prime minister to Edward III. a prelate whose magnificent charities yet exist, both in the benefits he calculated for posterity, and in the edifices erected on his own designs for perpetuating those pious bounties. The portrait has been engraven by Houbraken among the heads of illustrious men; a noble memorial, which I am sorry to say was forced to be dropped (though exhibited at the trifling expence of five shillings for four beautiful prints), the moment the novelty of it was exhausted.

\* La Bruyere has expressed this with the happiest decency: "Ils avoient trouvé le secret de paroître nuds tout habillez." Vol. ii. p. 234.

† See an account, in folio, prefixed to his prints of the kings of England.



The Black Prince \* was represented on glass in a window at the west end of Westminster-abbey, but the image is now almost defaced. Mr. Maurice Johnson, the antiquary of Spalding, had a MS. of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon, written in 1340, wherein was an illumination of the author. It was shown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1735.

The person of Richard II. is still preserved in the most lively manner, in two different pictures. The first a whole length in the abbey of Westminster; the other † at the earl of Pembroke's at Wilton, a small piece consisting of two tablets, on which are represented the king kneeling, accompanied by his patron saints, John the Baptist, St. Edmund the King and Edward the Confessor, before the Virgin and Child, attended by angels. Hollar engraved it. To the bottom of this picture are affixed these words, "Invention of painting in oil, 1410. This was painted before in the beginning of Richard II. 1377, &c." These words, which are very equivocal, started a question with me, which I found nobody that could resolve. Do they imply that this piece was painted in oil before John ab Eyck discovered that secret in 1410? So one should think; for, what news did the inscriber tell, if he only meant that painting in water-colours or miniature was practised before painting in oil? Every illuminated MS. antecedent to that date was a proof of that. The short quære would be, With what is the picture in question painted? To that I can only reply, that it is covered with glass, and is too great a curiosity to have experiments made upon it. It is painted on a bright golden ground, the colours of the utmost freshness, and not grown black as oil-colours would be, and is, as I have said, guarded by a glass, all which indicate that it is miniature. Yet I do not pretend to decide: the inscription I have mentioned and some other circumstances seem to leave a doubt whether John ab Eyck was really the first person who mixed his colours with oil. We have seen by a record reported above, that long before this period oil was at least used as

\* Mr. Onflow, the late speaker, had a head of the Black Prince, which there is great reason to believe was painted at the time. It is not very ill done: it represents him in black armour embossed with gold, and with a golden lion on his breast. He has a hat with a white feather, and a large ruby, exactly in the shape of the

rough ruby still in the crown. He appears lean and pale, as he was towards the end of his life. This very curious picture came out of Betchworth-castle in Surrey.

† See a full description of it in the accounts of the curiosities at Wilton, by Gambarini, Cowdry, or Kennedy.

a varnish,

a varnish, and it is difficult to conceive how it was possible to varnish with oil either water-colours or colours mixed with size. It occurred to me to enquire with what the painters antecedent to John ab Eyck mixed their colours: even in this country there are a few pictures extant, and painted on board, before oil-painting can be supposed to have been introduced here. Not to mention the picture at Wilton, the other of Richard II. at Westminster, and an undoubted original of Henry IV. at Hampton-court in Herefordshire, who died within two years after John ab Eyck's discovery, must be allowed to have been drawn before the new art arrived here. The picture at Westminster has indeed been re-painted\*: therefore no conclusion can be drawn from it. This question, easy as I thought it, I found had been passed over without consideration, and, though proposed to a very learned † body of men, arrived at no solution. After turning over several books of painting, all treating of John ab Eyck's invention, but without one word of the method which his secret dispossessed, I at last found what I sought. Sandrart put an end to the difficulty by these words:

Quia autem metuebant ne muri scissuris diffunderentur, hinc eisdem linteis, prius glutine mediante, induxerunt, desuperque applicito gypso, postmodo demum picturas suas effigurarunt, qui modus dici solet *alla tempera*, id est, temperaturæ aquariæ. Hanc autem temperaturam ita præparabant: effracto prius ovo gallinæ, in ejusdem liquore frondem teneram ficulneam de ficu juniore discutiebant: ubi è lacte istius frondis, equè vitello illa nascebatur temperatura: qua mediante, postmodum loco aquæ vel gummi, vel tragacanthæ, colores suos subigebant, quibus dehinc opera sua perficerent ‡.

When they painted on walls, lest their work should crack, they proceeded in this manner: they glued a linen cloth upon the wall, and covered that with plaister, on which they painted in distemper: this was thus prepared: they dropped into the yolk of an egg the milk that flows from the leaf of a young fig-tree, with which, instead of water, gum, or gumdragant, they mixed their last layer of colours. It is probable from the last words of this passage that they laid their first colour with water or gum only.

\* By one Capt. Brome, a print-seller near the parliament-house; but this was after Mr. Talman had taken his drawing from whence the print was engraved.

† The Society of Antiquaries.

‡ Academ. pictur. p. 15.



I shall be told perhaps, that this method was only used for painting on walls; but, leaving out the plaister, I see nothing to hinder the same preparation from being used on board. Of what mixture Cimabue, the restorer of the art, made use, we are told by the same author. *Multæque illius manu confectæ non historiæ minus, quam imagines, in tabulis ligneis, colore ovis vel glutine temperato* \*.

Cimabue used yolk of egg or glue, which I suppose means size.

Still the much more ancient use of oil, were it but as a varnish, leaves a doubt whether John ab Eyck's discovery was entirely his own. The remarkable record which I have so often mentioned, dates above an hundred years before the common æra of painting in oil. John ab Eyck is allowed to have found it in searching for a varnish. Might he not have heard that such a varnish or composition was in use in England †? The very pictures I have mentioned as still extant, and under all the appearances of being painted in oil, seem to say even more. The painters employed by Henry III. appear to have been Italians: and yet it is easy to vindicate the secret from them; at least I can prove that they must have found the practice here, not have brought it over with them, for we are told expressly that in Italy they knew of no such method. When some of John ab Eyck's pictures were carried to Alphonso king of Naples, the Italian painters were surpris'd, says Sandrart ‡, *quod aquâ purgari possent, coloribus non deletis*.

\* Academ. pictur. p. 94.

† I cannot help hazarding a conjecture (though unsupported by any of the writers on painting). There is an old altar-table at Chiswick, representing the Lord Clifford and his lady kneeling. —Van Eyck's name is burnt in on the back of the board. If Van Eyck was ever in England, would it not be probable that he learned the secret of using oil here, and took the honour of the invention to himself, as we were then a country little known to the world of arts, nor at leisure enough, from the confusions of the times, to claim the discovery of a secret which soon made such fortune abroad? An additional presumption, though certainly not a proof of Van Eyck's being in England, is a picture in the duke of

Devonshire's collection painted by John ab Eyck in 1422, and representing the consecration of St. Thomas Becket. The tradition is, that it was a present to Henry V from his uncle the duke of Bedford, regent of France: but tradition is no proof; and two pictures of this author in England, one of them of an English family, and the other of an English story, are at least as good evidence for his having been here, as tradition for one of them being painted abroad. However, I pretend to nothing more in all this than mere conjecture.

‡ P. 105. Maffei indeed in his *Verona Illustrata* is of a different opinion, and thinks oil-painting was known in Italy before John ab Eyck.

I must

I must beg not to have it supposed that I am setting up any novel pretensions for the honour of my own country: Where the discovery was made I do not pretend to guess: the fact seems to be that we had such a practice. Curious facts are all I aim at relating, never attempting to establish an hypothesis, which of all kind of visions can nourish itself the most easily without any. The passion for systems did not introduce more errors into the old philosophy, than hypothesis has crowded into history and antiquities. It wrests all arguments to the favourite point. A man who sees with Saxon eyes sees a Saxon building in every molehill: a Mercian virtuoso can discover king lords and commons in the tumultuary conventions of the Wittenagemot; and an enthusiast to the bards find primæval charms in the rudest ballad that was bawled by the mob three or four hundred years ago. But the truths we antiquaries search for, do not seem of importance enough to be supported by fictions: the world in general thinks our studies of little consequence; they do not grow more valuable by being stuffed with guesses and invention.

The painters of these portraits \* of king Richard are still more uncertain than the method in which they painted. I can find no names of artists † at that period. Nor is this extraordinary. In countries where the science flourished more, our knowledge of the professors is very imperfect. Though

\* Another representation of this king is exhibited by Montfaucon from a MS. Froissard in the library of the king of France. There is another illuminated edition of that author in the British Museum, in which is a miniature of the young monarch sitting on his throne and attended by his uncles. In the same place is an historic poem in old French, written by a person of condition in the service of Richard II. and an eye-witness of all that he relates. It has sixteen curious illuminations, in which that king is eight times represented in different situations †. There are also the portraits of Henry of Lancaster (four times), of archbishop Arundel, the dukes of Surrey and of Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, &c. Part of this curious piece was translated by George Carew, earl of Totness; the translation was published with other

tracts in a thin folio called *Hibernica*, by Walter Harris; Dublin 1747.

† Except of John Sutton a carver, who was employed by Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick to alter a statue of the famous Guy earl of Warwick, standing in the choir of the church there, and to cut the arms of the ancient earls on it. It was from the spoils of this family that Richard II. granted to his half brother Thomas duke of Surrey a suit of arras wrought with the story of the same Guy. See Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 402, 431. The city of London made presents to Richard and his queen, among other curiosities, of pictures of the Trinity valued at 800*l*. An enormous sum for that time! See *Description of London and the Environs*, vol. iv. p. 30.

† Strutt has engraved them for his *Regal and Ecclesiastic Antiquities*.

Cimabue restored the art as early as 1250, yet the number of his successors on record is extremely small, till Antonello of Messina carried the secret of painting in oil into Italy: and for Flanders, where it was invented, the biographers of the masters of that country, as Carl Vermander, Sandrart, &c. professedly begin their lists with John ab Eyck. We must leave therefore in the dark what we find irrecoverably so.

Two of the artists employed on the tomb of Richard are recorded by Stowe. That prince had prepared it for himself and his queen. B. and Godfrey of Woodstreet, goldsmiths, made the moulds and cast the images of the king and queen [still extant in the abbey]: "the charges of gilding of them cost 400 "marks\*."

The next picture of the same age is a portrait of John of Gaunt painted on glass, with other portraits of that time, in the college of All Souls at Oxford.

His son Henry IV. is extant, as I have said, at Hampton-court in Herefordshire, formerly his † palace: a copy or duplicate of this piece is at Kensington. In a book called *Studio di Pittura, Scoltura, &c. di Filippo Tito*, is a coin of Charles VI. of France with exactly the same extraordinary head-dress as was worn by this king.

Vertue met with a fine illuminated MS. of this age, a missal for the use of Salisbury: in the beginning was the figure of John lord Lovel receiving the book from frater Johannes Sifernas, who was probably the illuminator. It is now in the British Museum.

The fine east window in the cathedral of York was painted in this reign, at the expence of the dean and chapter, who contracted with John Thornton, glazier, of Coventry, to execute it. He was to receive for his own work four shillings a week, and to finish the whole in less than three years. The indenture, still preserved, adds, that he was to receive an hundred shillings sterling, each of the three years; and if he executed his work truly and perfectly, he

\* Annals, p. 342.

† This is the common report. Others say that Hampton-court was built by sir John  
Lenthall from the profit of spoils taken in the French war under Henry V.: consequently Henry IV. could not have lived there.



was to have ten pounds more. Another indenture of 1338, for glazing some of the west windows, articles, that the workman should have sixpence a foot for white glass, and twelpence for coloured. The great window evidences how able an artist John Thornton was\*.

The painted effigies of Chaucer remained till within these few years on his tomb at Westminster; and another, says Vertue on his print of that poet, is preserved in an illuminated MS. of Thomas Occleve, painted by Occleve himself. D'Urry and Tanner both mention such a portrait, which places Occleve in the rank of one of our first painters as well as poets †.

Henry V. is likewise on board at Kensington, and on vellum in some MSS. as Vertue says in his account prefixed to the heads of our kings, but he does not mention where those MSS. are preserved. But a most curious picture of this king and his family is still extant in the collection of James West, esq. secretary of the treasury ‡. This piece is evidently painted in oil-colours; and though the new art might have reached England before the death of that prince, which happened in 1422, yet there are many circumstances that lead me to think it of a later date. It was an altar-piece at Shene, and in all probability was painted by order of Henry VII. for the chapel in his palace there. His fondness for the house of Lancaster is too well known to be dwelt on: the small resemblance of the portrait of Henry V. to genuine pictures of him, and the great resemblance of all the other personages to one another, make it evident that it was rather a work of command and imagination than of authenticity. Add to this, that on the tents (which I shall mention presently) portcullises are mixed with red roses: the portcullis § was the cognizance of the illegitimate branch of Beaufort, and was never that I can find borne by the house of Lancaster ||; but when Henry VII. gave himself for the heir of that royal line, no wonder he crowded the badges of his own bastard blood among the emblems of the crown. However, the whole piece is so ancient and so singular, that I shall be excused inserting the description of it in this place.

\* Drake's York, p. 527.

† I find by Montfaucon that the use of crayons was known in this age in France; but nothing of that kind appears to have been practised in this country. See his account of the portraits of John duke of Berry and Louis duke of Orleans, the uncle and the brother of Charles VI.

‡ It is now at Strawberry-hill.

§ See Sandford.

|| The red rose is another proof that this picture was not painted in the reign of Henry V. as the red and white roses were not adopted as distinctions of the two houses, till the reign of Henry VI.

## 36 STATE OF PAINTING FROM HENRY III.

It is painted on several boards joined, and is four feet three inches high, by four feet six wide.

On the left hand is the king in dark purple robes lined with ermine, the crown on his head. He is kneeling before a desk on which is a missal, and the sceptre and globe. Behind him on their knees are his three brothers, Thomas duke of Clarence; John duke of Bedford\*; Humphrey duke of Gloucester. They are dressed in robes like the king's, and wear golden coronets: over them is a tent, striped with white and gold, on which are red roses crowned; and the valance, of the same colours with red roses and portcullises. A small angel flying holds the top of the tent. The queen is opposite, under another tent exactly in the same manner, except that there is no sceptre on her desk. Behind her are four ladies dressed like her and with coronets. The two first are probably Blanche duchess of Bavaria, and Philippa queen of Denmark, the king's sisters: who the other two are is more difficult to decide, as they are represented with dishevelled hair, which in pictures of that time is a mark of virginity. It has been supposed that the two elder were the wives of the dukes of Clarence and Bedford, and the two younger their sisters; but this clashes with all history and chronology. Blanche and Philippa were both married early in their father's reign: and to suppose the two younger ladies the brides of Clarence and Bedford would be groundless; for Margaret Holland, the wife of the former, was a widow when he married her. As all the portraits are imaginary, it does not much signify for whom the painter intended them. A larger angel standing, holds the cloth of the two tents together. On a rising ground above the tents is St. George on a brown steed striking with his sword at the dragon, which is flying in the air, and already pierced through the forehead with a spear, on which is a flag with the cross of St. George. Cleodelinde, with a lamb, is praying beneath the dragon. On the hills are gothic buildings and castles in a pretty taste.

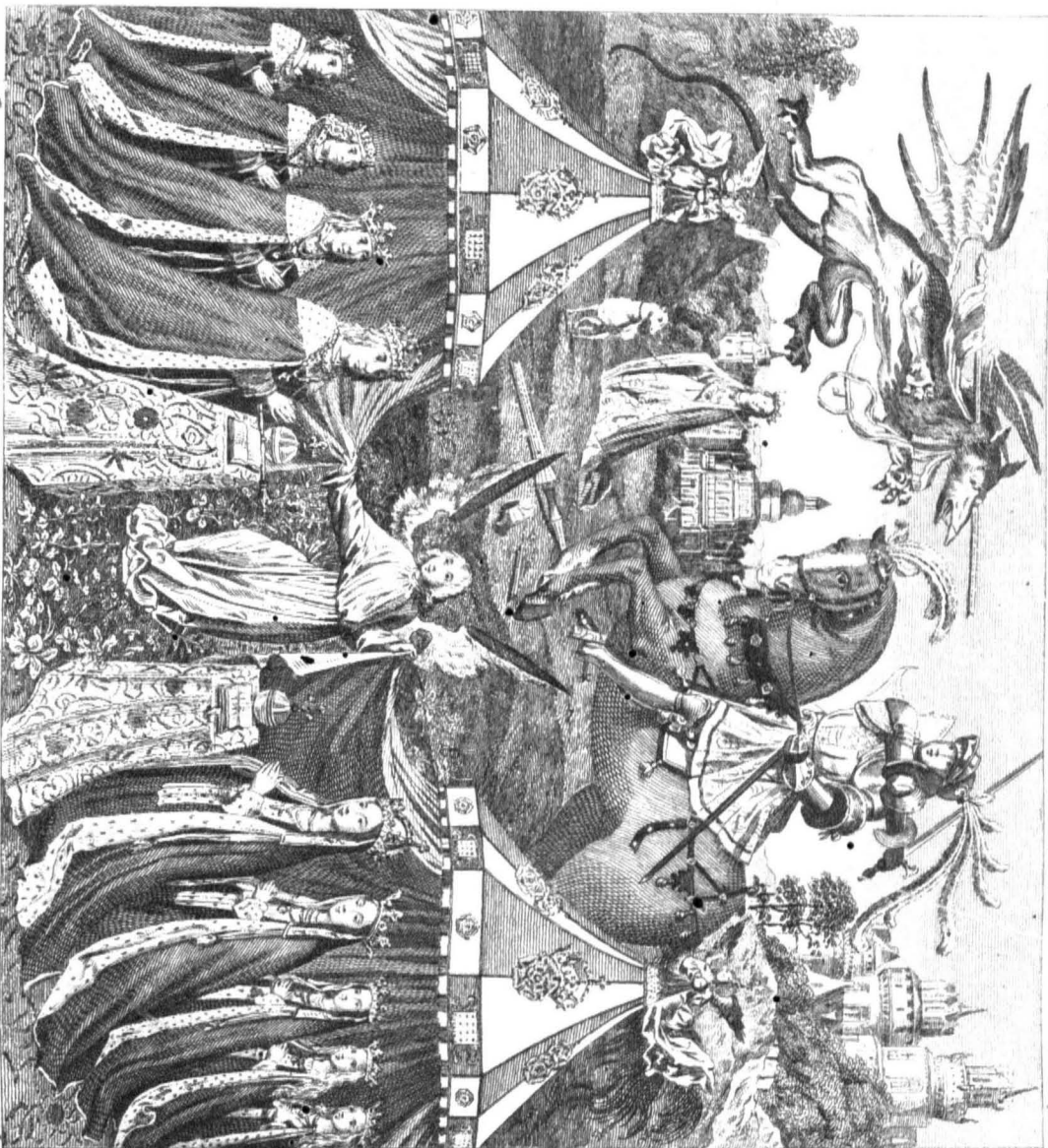
This curious picture, after it was taken from Shene, was in the Arundelian collection, and was sold at Tart-hall in 1719. In the long gallery at Lambeth is an ancient portrait of queen Catherine of Valois, and another of archbishop Chicheley.

\* This is extremely unlike the miniature of him which I shall mention presently; and which is too remarkable a face not to have had much resemblance.

Richard

Henry 5<sup>th</sup>, his Queen and Family.

C. G. Goussier sculp.



1844. 179.





C. Grignon sculp

Marriage of Henry 6<sup>th</sup>

Richard Frampton had a gift of five marks from Henry V. for illuminating a book of grants in the office of the duchy of Lancaster.

An original portrait of John duke of Bedford, above mentioned, is extant \* in a fine illuminated Prayer Book presented by him to Henry VI. The duke and his first wife Anne of Burgundy are represented with their arms and devices.

Of that indiscreet but amiable and unfortunate prince Humphrey duke of Glocester, I know † no memorial; nor will I mention him but to make one remark, sufficient alone to detect the malice of his enemies, if it had not been detected. What probability was there that the wife of a man illustrious for exposing impostors, who encouraged learning ‡, and founded the Divinity-school at Oxford, should have dared under his roof to dabble with witches and necromancers? His first wife Jaqueline, the amorous countess of Holland, is known by more than one monument. Two fine prints of her, and her last husband, were published in 1753 by Folkema, from pictures painted by Mostert at Harlem. William Bridges, the first Garter king at Arms, instituted by Henry V. set up in the windows of the church of St. George at Stanford the portraits of the first Knights of the Garter: it was from these paintings that Hollar etched the plate of them published in Ashmole's history of the order §.

In the reign of Henry VI. our field begins to grow less barren. Many portraits of the king himself are preserved, as on board at Kensington and on glass in the Chapel of King's college. In my possession is a remarkable piece, which so many circumstances affix to the history of this prince that I cannot hesitate to believe it designed for him, though I imagine it was painted after his death. It is the representation of his marriage. There are eleven figures, of which all the heads are well painted: the draperies are hard and stiff. The king in rich robes, but with rude dishevelled hair, as are all the men, stands before the

\* It is now in the collection of her grace the duchess of Portland: the duke of Bedford's head was engraved by Vertue with those of the kings ||.

† I have since the first edition of this work

authenticated two portraits of that prince, as will be mentioned presently.

‡ He had a valuable library for that time, and gave 129 volumes to the university. Hearne.

§ Peck's Annals of Stanford, book ii. chap. 18.

|| It was sold at the duchess's sale to Mr. Edwards of Pall-Mall, in whose possession it now is.

portal of a magnificent church, giving his hand to the queen, who is far from being a lovely bride, and whom the painter seems satirically to have insinuated by the prominence of her waist not to have been so perfect a virgin as her flowing hair denotes. Kemp archbishop of York and afterwards of Canterbury, and one of her chief counsellors, is performing the marriage rites by holding the pallium over their conjoined hands. It is remarkable that the prelate wears thin yellow gloves, which are well represented. Behind the king in a robe of state stands the duke of Gloucester, and seems reproving a nobleman \*, whom I take for the marquis of Suffolk. Behind the queen is a lady in a kind of turban or diadem, probably designed for her mother the titular queen of Naples and Jerusalem. Beyond her, another in a widow's dress, opposite to whom is a comely gentleman. This pair I conclude is Jaqueline duchess of Bedford, widow of duke John, and her second husband. Our historian says, that pretty suddenly after the duke's death she married sir Richard Widville, a goodly young knight. They were the parents of Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV †.

On the fore ground opposite to the marquis of Suffolk stands a noble virgin, whom I take for Margaret of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. One of the charges against the marquis of Suffolk was, that he endeavoured to marry his son to this lady Margaret, a princess of the blood. Near the archbishop is a cardinal, who is certainly Winchester, the king's great uncle. The face is very like the image on his tomb at Winchester; nor can one account for his not performing the ceremony, but by his dignity of prince of the blood, which did not suffer by the ministration of an inferior prelate. Behind the queen of Naples is an abbess, and at a distance a view of a town, that must be Titchfield, from whence the queen was led to be married at Southwick. Besides the seeming pregnancy of the queen, there is another circumstance, conclusive for this picture being painted after the death of Henry. Round his head is the nimbus or glory: an addition that was as posterior to his marriage, as the painter seems to intimate the queen's fruitfulness was anterior to it. Round the hem of the queen's robe are some letters ‡, which are far from being so intelligible

\* He has a hawk on his fist: a mark of nobility in old paintings.

† The portraits of duke Humphrey and archbishop Kemp have been authenticated by two

others of the same persons, which formed part of an altar-piece at St. Edmundsbury, and are now at Strawberry-hill.

‡ This was a fashion as early as the reign of Richard



intelligible as the other incidents. The words are involved in the folds; what appear, are Vol falv Regin m—one knows that Salve Regina mater cœlorum is the beginning of a hymn—but I know not what to make of Vol—the painter probably was no Latinist—and indeed the first letter of Regina he has drawn more like to a B than an R. On the abbess's girdle is Vel ave—as little to be decyphered as her majesty's Vol.

But it is to sir William Dugdale that I am indebted for the greatest discoveries I have made towards the history of our ancient artists. In that collection of various treasures which he has saved from oblivion [saved the more luckily, as he wrote but the instant before it became piety to commit devastation], he has incidentally preserved some memorials of the state of painting in the reigns of our earliest princes. I have found some names of the professors, and even the rates of their work. I call them professors, agreeably to modern estimation; but our ancestors seem to have treated them without any distinction from other mechanics. If Henry III. bespoke pictures by the intervention of the sheriff, under Henry VI. we were still so unpolished, that a peer of the first nobility going into France on an embassy, contracted with his taylor for the painter's work that was to be displayed in the pageantry of his journey. The bill itself is so curious that I shall transcribe part of it.

Thes be the parcels that Will. Seburgh citizen and peyntour of London hath delivered in the month of Juyll the xv yee of the reign of king Harry the first, by John Ray, taillour of the same citee, for the use and stuff of my lord of Warwyk.

First, cccc pencels bete with the raggidde staffe of silver, pris the pece v<sup>d</sup>. 08<sup>l</sup>. -- 6s. -- 00<sup>d</sup>.

Item, for the peynting of two paveys for my lord, the one with a gryffon stondyng in my lordis colours rede, white and russet, pris of the pavys 00 -- 06 -- 08.

Richard II. When Edward earl of Rutland, the lord Spencer and others accused the earl of Arundel of treason, they appeared before the king at Nottingham in red gowns of silk, garded and bordered with white silk and embroidered with letters of gold. Peck's Annals of Stanford, 12, 39. The lady Margaret in this picture is in a green gown bordered with white silk.

Item,

## 40 STATE OF PAINTING FROM HENRY III.

Item, for the other pavys peyntid with black and a raggid staffe bete with silver occupying all the felde, pris 00 -- 03 -- 04.

Item, one coat for my lordis body, bete with fine gold, pris 01 -- 10 -- 00.

Item, for a grete stremour for the ship of XL yerdis length, and viii yerdis in brede, with a grete bere and gryfon holding a ragidd staffe, poudrid full of raggid staves; and for a grete crosse of St. George, for the lynmyng and por-  
traying 01 -- 06 -- 08.

There are several other articles which the reader may find at length in the original from whence I have copied these\*.

If it is objected to me, that This was mere herald's painting, I answer, That was almost the only painting we had. The art was engrossed by and confined to the vanity or devotion of the nobility. The arms they bore and quartered, their missals, their church-windows and the images of their idols were the only circumstances in which they had any employment for a painter. Even portraits, the object of modern vanity, seem not to have been in fashion. I know not one except of the blood royal or of a bishop or two, painted during the period of which I am writing. Devout subjects were held in sufficient estimation. Isabel countess of Warwick, in 1439, bequeathed her tablet with the image of our lady to the church of Walsingham, and it is even mentioned that this tablet had a glass over it. I cannot pass over this magnificent lady without taking a little notice of some other particulars of her <sup>life</sup> ~~will~~. She was daughter and at length sole heiress of Thomas le Despenser earl of Gloucester, widow of Richard Beauchamp earl of Worcester, and afterwards by dispensation married to his cousin that potent and warlike peer, Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick. Their portraits on glass with others of their lineage were long extant in the church at Warwick. Her great templys † with the baleys sold to the utmost, she gave to the monks of Tewksbury, so that they grucht not with her burial there, and what else she had appointed to be done about the same. To our lady of Walsingham, her gown of green alyz cloth of gold with wide sleeves, and a tabernacle of silver like in the timbre to that

\* Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 408.

by bodkins thrust into their hair. See Dugdale's

† Jewels hanging on the foreheads of ladies Warwickshire, p. 413.

over our lady of Caversham, and ordered that her great image of wax, then at London, should be offered to our lady of Worcester. To the abbey of Tewksbury she gave her wedding gown, and all her clothes of gold and clothes of silk without furs, saving one of russet velvet which she bestowed on St. Winifrede. But having thus disposed of her wardrobe for the use of the saints, she seems to have had very different thoughts about herself, ordering that "a statue of her should be made all nakyd with her hair cast backward, according to the design and model that one Thomas Porchalion had for that purpose." This extreme prohibition of all covering, I suppose, flowed from some principle of humility in this good lady, who having divested herself of all vain ornaments in favour of our lady and St. Winifrede, would not indulge her own person even in the covering of the hair of her head. And it looks, by the legacy to the monks above, as if she had some apprehensions that they would not relish or comprehend the delicacy of such total rejection of all superfluities. I was willing to mention this testament too, because it seems to record even the name of an ancient statuary. Other statuaries and founders are mentioned in the cost bestowed on the tomb of the earl her husband. Dugdale has preserved the covenant between the executors and the artists. There I find John Essex, marbler, William Austin, founder, Thomas Stevens, copperfiny, John Bourde of Corffe castle, marbler, Bartholomew Lambspring, a Dutch goldsmith; they agree on all the particulars for the image on the tomb, and the little images and escutcheons round it. The tomb with the image still extant in polished brass of the highest preservation witnesses that the artists were excellent enough to deserve this memorial. John Prudde of Westminster, called simply glazier, appears to have painted the windows of the chapel; and it was particularly stipulated that "he should employ no glass of England, but with glass beyond the seas, and that in the finest wise, with the best, cleanest, and strongest glasse of beyond sea that may be had in England, and of the finest colours of blew, yellow, red, purple, sanguine and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary and best to make rich and embellish the matters, images and stories that shall be delivered and appointed by the said executors by patterns in paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another painter in rich colour at the charges of the said glazier." By all these circumstances it is plain that the executors thought that the magnificence of the intended monument must consist in the value and show of the materials, rather than in any excellence of the workmanship. This covenant carries us



still farther, and has even brought to light a history-painter of that time. *John Brentwood* citizen and steyner of London engages "to paint on the west wall of the chapel the dome of our Lord Jesus and all manner of devises and imagery thereunto belonging, of fair and lightly proportion, as the place shall serve for, with the finest colours and fine gold;" and *Kristian Coleburne*, another painter dwelling in London, undertakes to paint "in most fine, fairest and curious wise four images of stone, of our lady, St. Gabrael the angel, St. Anne and St. George; these four to be painted with the finest oil colours, in the richest, finest and freshest clothings that may be made of fine gold, azure, of fine purple, of fine white, and other finest colours necessary, garnished, bordered and powdered in the finest and curiousest wise."

This singular record contains too the prices stipulated for the several performances. The tomb was to cost 125*l.* sterling; the image 40*l.* the gilding of the image and its appurtenances, 13*l.* The glass-painter was to have 2*s.* for every foot of glass, and so for the whole 91*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* The scripture-piece on the wall was to cost 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and the painting of the four images 12*l.* The whole expence of the chapel and monument, which were not completed under one-and-twenty years, amounted to 2481*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*

The wealth and splendour of that family was so great, that Henry Beauchamp, son of Richard and Isabel, was at the age of nineteen created premier earl of England, and three days after he was made duke of Warwick with precedence next to the duke of Norfolk and before the duke of Buckingham—an act of power so destructive of all the vanity of nobility and blood, that the duke of Buckingham could not digest it: it occasioned such animosity, that the king was obliged to qualify his grant, by establishing between the contending parties a rotation of seniority, each to take place alternately for a year, the survivor to precede for his life the heir of the other, and so in perpetuum. A senseless jumble, soon liquidated by a more egregious act of folly, the king with his own hand crowning the young duke of Warwick king of the isle of Wight—nor can one easily conceive a more ridiculous circumstance, than a man who had lost the kingdom of France amusing himself with bestowing the diadem of the little isle of Wight.—But to return to our artists: I find the name of another sculptor at the same æra; not employed indeed in any considerable work, and called only Richard the carver: he and one brother

Rowley

Rowlsby, a monk, were engaged on some repairs in the church of St. Mary at Stanford\*.

But the most valuable artists of that age were the illuminators of manuscripts. Their drawing was undoubtedly stiff; but many of the ornaments, as animals, flowers and foliage, they often painted in a good taste, and finished highly. To several missals were added portraits of the princes and princesses to whom they belonged, or for whom they were designed as presents. The dresses and buildings of the times are preserved, though by frequent anachronisms applied to the ages of scripture; and the gold and colours are of the greatest brightness and beauty. Several receipts for laying these on are extant, particularly in the British Museum†. Dugdale from some of these illuminations has given cuts of two remarkable combats or tournaments performed in the 15th year of king Henry VI. ‡ in which the designs are far from unworthy of a better age; and the customs and habits delineated with great accuracy.

Henry himself, I suppose, had no taste for the arts—the turbulent ambition of his queen left her as little—yet she was the daughter of a prince, who was not only reckoned the best painter of his age, but who would really appear no mean performer in the present: this was René of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies, duke of Lorrain and count of Provence, much known from having lost almost all his dominions; yet it has been little remarked, that he was one of the very few princes who did not deserve to lose them, having merited from his subjects the title of THE GOOD. His own picture painted by himself is still extant in the chapel of the Carmelites at Aix, and the print from it in Montfaucon's Antiquities of France will justify what I have said of this prince's talent.

In this age was finished the cloister adjoining to the old church of St. Paul: it was built round a chapel in Pardon-church Hawgh, a place situated on the

\* See Peck's Antiquities of Stanford, lib. xiv. cap. 5. Tower. In Dufresne's Greek Glossary are three receipts for illuminating, under the article *χρυσο-γραφα*. There are two others in Montfaucon's *Palæographia Græca*.

† See Catal. Harl. MSS. No. 273. art. 34, where is also a receipt for painting on glass. In that collection is a MS. in which Henry VI. is represented looking out of a window in the

‡ See Warwickshire, p. 110.